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Fig. 10. A street, resembling a dried-out stream bed.

rain. To the east is the large cathedral and convent, the most imposing and handsome buildings in the village. The convent is now a historical monument and is visited by tourists. Between the cathedral and the plaza is a row of whitewashed, flat-roofed stores. West of the plaza is a dirt road leading to the lower part of the village, to the cemetery, and to the village of Ixcatepec and more stores. The mills and some of the finer old houses of former *caciques* are also located on the plaza.

This part of the village presents the appearance and some of the hustle and bustle of a town, but the streets off the center are uniformly quiet and rustic and stamp Tepoztlán as a rural village. (See Fig. 12.) But even the center does not give the impression of an active, thriving community. The park, plaza, and public buildings show evidence of chronic neglect. Only for the annual Carnaval is the area well swept and the main fountain cleaned. The park is seldom occupied by the native population and, except when there are tourists, usually looks abandoned.

The stores are small and dark and have unattractive displays. On market days the few vendors and the small variety of goods available betray little commercial activity and a general air of decline. (See Fig. 13.)

The streets just off the plaza bear names indicated by placards. As is customary in Mexico the street names commemorate important historical events and outstanding local figures. Thus in Tepoztlán we find such street names as The Fifth of May, Aniceto Villamar, and No Reelección.[8] Only those houses in the center are

[8] Some of the street names are in Náhuatl and refer to pre-Hispanic figures, for example, Avenida del Tepozteco and Netzahualcoyotl.

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provide food elements which the Tepoztecan diet would otherwise lack, since there is little cultivation of leafy green vegetables. But it is impossible to determine to what extent wild greens are consumed, because they are considered very poor fare, and Tepoztecans do not readily admit eating them. During times of scarcity a large number of families eat wild greens in quantity several times a week, and the chronically poor eat them regularly throughout the year. During the Revolution many families escaped starvation by subsisting almost entirely on wild plants. The names of most of these plants are native Indian terms, and are as follows:

quintoniles	*papalo*
verdolaga	*chipiles*
tesquite	*tequesquite*
pipisacos	*quelites*

Violets boiled with *tequesquite* are also eaten. The herbs are well-known spices, and medicinal grasses or leaves are used to make a variety of teas.

Additional fruits and vegetables are brought in by traveling merchants or are purchased in the large market in Cuernavaca. However, most of these are expensive and only the few well-to-do families of Tepoztlán can afford to purchase them more or less regularly. Foods not locally produced and commonly purchased in the stores of Tepoztlán, Yautepec, Cuernavaca, or Mexico City are bread,[7] sugar, salt, rice, certain types of chile and beans, noodles, and dried codfish. Chocolate is also purchased but is considered a luxury. Foods which are slowly becoming more popular but which are still purchased by a small minority are evaporated and powdered milk, canned sardines, tomato herring, or other fish.

The eating of white bread made of wheat flour is of particular interest in Mexico, since it is a relatively new trait and one which has been taken to indicate the degree of acculturation of individuals and groups. In Tepoztlán, bread is considered a very desirable food; and often the social and economic status of a family is judged in terms of the amount of bread that it consumes. From the Mexican Census of 1940, which included a question designed to estimate the number of persons who eat bread fairly regularly, we learned that over 31 per cent of the population of Tepoztlán eat bread. At present there is scarcely a family that does not eat some bread during the week or month, though it may be but once or twice. It is especially favored as a food for very small children, and even the poorest family seeks to provide a piece of bread daily for its youngest child. There is no indication, however, that bread will eventually displace the tortilla; at most, bread consumption among well-to-do families may represent about 10 per cent of the total food expenditure.

There is, of course, much variation in the actual consumption of food. Except among the wealthier families, irregularity in diet is characteristic throughout the year, and few families maintain a uniformly good diet from day to day even according to local standards. The type and quantity of food consumed is determined by the season, the fiesta calendar, and, most of all, the amount of cash on hand. "When

[7] Bread is baked locally, but wheat flour is purchased outside.

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264 men carry their breakfast with them, to be warmed and eaten later. (See Fig. 40.) They may eat once again at noon and have their dinner when they arrive home, at any time from 5:00 to 9:00 P.M.

562 855 When they eat at home they are usually served first and receive preferential treatment. The women and children who remain at home eat breakfast at 7:00 or 8:00 A.M., dinner at about 1:00 P.M., and supper at dusk. Younger children are generally fed before the mother and the older daughter sit down to eat. In most homes the

291 516

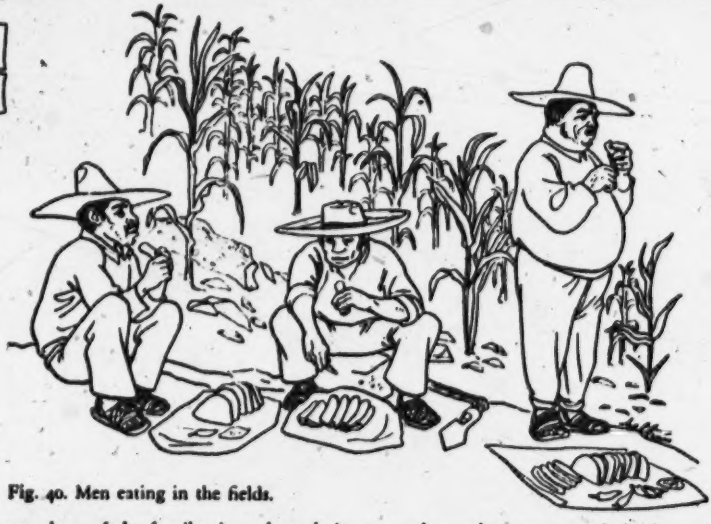

Fig. 40. Men eating in the fields.

351 562 members of the family sit on low chairs or stools, or the women and children sit on the floor. Very few families use a table except during a fiesta meal, and then it is only for the men and guests. Likewise, knives and forks are generally reserved for fiesta times only. The mother serves, handing each person his food in a bowl or wrapped in a tortilla. Spoons may be used, but food is usually eaten with the tortilla as a spoon.

272 264 735 178 757 For most people, breakfast consists of black coffee and tortilla. Some take milk in their coffee and eat bread instead of tortilla; some eat toasted meat or warmed-over beans. During hard times, poorer families drink tea made from cinnamon or local herbs instead of coffee. It should be remembered that coffee drinking is a relatively new phenomenon among the poor; in the late nineteenth century only the *caciques* could afford it. Today, tea drinking is associated with poverty or illness, for many of the teas are used to cure stomach-ache, colds, sore throats, etc.[8]

273 751

[8] In many families it is customary for the father to begin the day with a drink of alcohol. Similarly, when the peasants return from the fields at night, they generally take a drink of alcohol to counteract *los aires* and to avoid taking cold.

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261 262 [753] [757] [855] [840] [757]

In general, cold foods[1] are believed to cause diarrhea and to be less easily digested than hot foods, and are not given to very small children, to the ill, or to women who have just given birth. Illnesses are also classified as hot and cold types, and it is believed that only hot foods should be eaten with certain illnesses and cold foods with others.

Foods may be neutralized and made less dangerous by mixing certain hot foods with cold foods. For example, milk is not given to new mothers because it is "cold," but it may be taken in coffee, which is "hot." *Atoles* made of corn, a highly recommended food for the ill, have their cold qualities removed by adding brown sugar and cinnamon. *Mole* is cold but may safely be eaten if served with alcoholic drinks. The green tomato, which is eaten almost daily in Tepoztlán, is made harmless by being cooked with beef or served as a sauce with onion and chile, both of which are hot. Hot herbs such as *tequesquite* and *epazote* are often used to neutralize a cold food. Despite this elaboration, Tepoztecans, unlike the Maya, do not preoccupy themselves with this classification of food and do not follow any set rules of eating. Nor is there always agreement about what the rules are or how a food, particularly a new food, is to be classified. The following list of hot and cold foods is based on data from several informants and include only those foods on which there is substantial agreement.

Cold Foods

milk
eggs
cheese
cream
jitomate
rice
noodles
potatoes
all beans except black
lentils
mole verde
mole colorado
atoles made of corn
peanuts
jicama
white *zapote*
chick peas
watermelons
peaches
guayava
papaya
granadas
lettuce
radish
corn-on-the-cob
avocado
banana (*macho* and *manzana* type)
green chile
quince
carrot
prickly pear
nopal
chayote
lemon
lime
pipisacos
chilacayote
chipiles
quelites
quintoniles
papalo
lima beans
verdolaga
white sugar
bread
apple
pear
fish
frog
pigeon
deer
rabbit
boar
squirrel
chicken
veal
pork

Hot Foods

black beans
chile pasilla
coffee
epazote
banana (*guineo*)
melon
wine
tequila
pulque

[1] [The classification of food into "hot" and "cold" types has no relation to temperature, see below. - ANALYST]

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beef (bull or ox)	*chirimoya*	onion
cinnamon	honey	ice
orange	squash	ices
plums	garlic	ice cream
black *zapote*	*mamey*	oil
brown sugar	alcohol	all fats
tequesquite	acacia seeds	

CLOTHING

The old-style clothing is essentially Spanish in origin, with some admixture and adaptations from pre-Hispanic times. The old-style costume for women consists of a long dark-colored skirt (*enaguas de encima*), a white underskirt, (*enaguas de dentro*), a collarless undershirt (*camisa*), and a high-necked blouse (*blusa* or *suco*). The costume includes a half-apron (*delantal*) and a sash (*cenidor*). The *rebozo* is also invariably worn. About three or four generations ago women still wore the dress of pre-Conquest times. This consisted of a *huipil*, or blouse, which was a large square of cloth worn poncho-like, by slipping it over the head through a slit in the center. It was worn in such a way that two corners fell over the shoulders, and the front and back corners were tucked into the skirt. The *huipil* differs markedly from the prudish high-necked, long-sleeved *blusa* which displaced it, in that it was very loose covering and freely revealed the breasts. The ancient skirt (*cueitl*) was a rectangular cloth which was wrapped around the lower part of the body and held in place with a sash.

The old-style clothing for men consists of white cloth pants (*calzones*), long white cloth underdrawers, a white collarless undershirt (*camisa*), a white collarless overshirt, and a white cotton jacket. Leather huaraches and a straw sombrero complete the costume. (See Fig. 41.) The large, Zapata-type sombreros have given way to smaller-brimmed hats, since the advent of the bus and increased travel. The serape is an important article of clothing and is used for warmth and for protection against rain. The *gabán* is a poncho-like wool blanket and is now considered more old-fashioned than the serape.

The pre-Conquest clothing worn by men differed considerably from that in the post-Conquest period, but has nevertheless had more influence on later styles than pre-Conquest women's dress.

The ancient costume of the male Aztecs, although modified according to the social position of the wearer, was composed of three principal garments, the *maxtlatl*, a belt or loincloth with the ends hanging down in front like an apron; the *tilmahtli*, a woven cape worn over the shoulders and knotted in front; and the *cactli*, sandals of leather or woven of *maguey* fiber. Of these three, the first has entirely disappeared, the second influenced the form and use of the modern *serape*, while the third remains little changed today.[10]

Children's old-style clothes were reproductions of adult clothing and were worn almost as soon as a child began to walk. (See Fig. 42.)

[10] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 42.

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of those who wear modern dress. (See Fig. 46.) These men have frequent contact with the city, and shoes and dark trousers are more practical for their mode of life.

In comparing men and women, we note some interesting differences in the trend of styles. Seventy per cent of the women, as compared with 38 per cent of the men, use the new style of clothing; the old styles are disappearing among the women but not among the men. We also find that 14 per cent of the women, as compared with only 5.4 per cent of the men, wear shoes daily. Of course, it should be remembered that the only alternative a woman has to wearing shoes is to go barefoot, whereas men may and do wear huaraches. Nevertheless, in terms of departing from tradition, the wearing of shoes by women is significant. In general, women are less conservative than men in dress and have a stronger drive to be citified and to dress according to the prevailing fashions.

The wearing of modern clothing is related to barrio residence. This is more true of men than of women, as Table 51 indicates.

TABLE 51. Percentage of Men and Women Who Wear Modern Dress.

Barrio	Dresses*	*Pantalones*	Shoes (Daily)
Santo Domingo	68.8	37.4	18.5
La Santísima	74.0	52.0	26.0
San Miguel	70.6	46.2	25.9
Santa Cruz	65.1	21.3	3.9
Los Reyes	70.0	17.5	1.7
San Sebastián	63.2	16.6	2.0
San Pedro	65.8	8.8	0.0

The use of dresses is almost equally distributed throughout the village, with the smaller barrios showing slightly less. In contrast, there is a sharp drop in the use of *pantalones* by men in the smaller barrios. Similarly, there are fewer people in these barrios who use shoes daily. The explanation lies principally in the fact that these barrios consist almost entirely of farmers.

Wealth and economic status is only a limited determining factor in style of clothing worn. Before the Revolution, style differences between the upper and lower economic groups were sharper. At present, although clothing is becoming more and more important as an indicator of social status, it is not necessarily an indicator of wealth. The middle economic group, which we have already noted as being the most acculturated group in Tepoztlán, tends to wear modern dress and shoes more frequently than the upper economic group. This was clearly seen in Table 46, p. 176, which attempts to correlate the wearing of shoes with the economic grouping.

The wearing of shoes relates more to the factors of age and occupation than to wealth. The lowest percentage of those wearing shoes is found among the wealthiest, Group III-B, primarily because they are all of the older generation. The largest percentage of those wearing shoes is found in Group II, which contains most of the merchants, artisans, students, and teachers.

The type and quality of clothing worn by children also depend upon age, degree

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of acculturation of the family, barrio residence, and, to a greater degree than among adults, upon the family's economic status. Other factors affecting children's dress are school attendance and favoritism at home.

The younger a child is, the less effort and money is expended on his clothing and the less significance his clothing has in revealing economic status. In most families, pre-school children are not as well dressed as children who go to school. The only exception to this is the young favorite child of a better-to-do family. A favorite son may be given a little *gabán* as early as three years of age, but most boys do not receive *gabanes* until they begin to go out into the fields. A favorite girl may be given a little *rebozo* as soon as she asks for one, but generally girls receive a *rebozo* at about eight or nine. In very poor families a girl might not be given a *rebozo* until eleven or thereabouts. A favorite girl may receive a pair of gold earrings or a pair of holiday shoes at the age of two or three. Most girls do not receive these before they are fifteen; boys are given huaraches when they begin to work in the fields. Sweaters are worn by children of better-to-do families only.

Parents tend to keep their school children's clothing cleaner and in better repair. Many also make some attempt to keep children dressed in the prevailing styles for their age group. This usually means shorter, better-fitting dresses for the girls, jackets and ready-made pants for boys. (See Fig. 47.) There is also a definite trend among families with enough means to buy children's shoes for special events and school fiestas. The school now places some pressure upon parents to provide shoes for their children by forbidding the latter to join public school parades if they are barefoot. Differences in the clothing of the children of the rich and poor and of the more conservative and acculturated are becoming more marked and school children are becoming aware of the social distinctions involved. Their responses to the thematic apperception cards show school children to be particularly sensitive to clothing and to make appearance a significant aspect of their stories.

The quantity of clothing owned varies considerably from individual to individual. Even within the same family there is some variation. In general, youths and adolescent girls have the most and finest clothing, and the very young and very old have the least. In the poorest families each member may have only one dress or suit of clothing, but this is not common in Tepoztlán. Most women have at least two cotton dresses for daily wear and one rayon dress for fiestas; most men own at least four shirts, four *calzones*, and one or two pairs of huaraches. The children of the poor tend to have less than this minimum and frequently do not have special clothing for fiestas. In contrast, the middle and upper economic groups have many clothes, and among a few families there is evidence of extravagance in dress.

DIVERSION

Fiestas, both religious and secular, continue to be the main source of diversion for all groups in Tepoztlán. Every year the church calendar provides at least sixty-two important fiestas for Tepoztecans to celebrate, either as participants or observers. Not a month passes without a fiesta, and in some months there are five.

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of money. But only the most aggressive wives try to break their husbands of the habit. 273

Drinking is an important emotional outlet for men. It is believed that drinking helps one to get over *mains*, and it is traditional for men to go out to drink after a quarrel at home. Sometimes the men come home drunk and aggressive; other times "because they lack judgment" they arrive full of affection and kiss and caress the members of the family. It is interesting that only under intoxication will husbands and fathers openly demonstrate their affection in this way. Repressed hostilities toward wife, mother, child, or others also frequently come out when a man has been drinking. Some husbands beat their wives only when drunk. Drinking to get courage to punish a wife, seduce a woman, or attack an enemy is also common. Men often give a particular shout or cry *"grita"* after drinking, to show that they feel brave. 593 154 152 154

Although women in Tepoztlán are not supposed to drink, a few women are known to drink regularly and have been seen in a drunken state. Drunken women often cry for hours at a time and are inconsolable. In contrast to men, they do not respond to intoxication with aggression or impulsiveness but with self-pity. Widows or abandoned wives, more than other women, tend to drink for comfort. A few modern young girls get together occasionally for drinking and smoking in secret, but they discontinue this after marriage. 273 154 589 276

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

The relations between parents and children in Tepoztlán are also conditioned by emphasis on respect and authority. Children are reared to respect and obey their elders and to submit to the will of their mother and father so long as they live under the parental roof. Not long ago, all children in Tepoztlán kissed the hands of their parents, grandparents, and godparents in greeting; now only a few families continue this custom, and children are embarrassed to do it in the presence of outsiders. In the smaller outlying villages in the municipio, hand-kissing is still a common practice. 593 576 178

From infancy on, children in Tepoztlán are encouraged to be quiet, passive, and unobtrusive; older children are required to be obedient, self-controlled, and helpful. There is great emphasis placed upon "good" behavior in children, and the possibility of a child "not turning out well" is one of the fears of Tepoztecan parents. It is feared that a child who is badly raised will not be a good worker and will get into trouble. Such a child reflects ill upon his parents and is a cause for shame. 593 858

The responsibility of child rearing is felt as a heavy burden, particularly by mothers. Upon the death of a small child, it is not uncommon for the mother to comfort herself with the statement, "It is better thus, for who knows if he would have turned out well."

While both parents are held responsible by society at large for the care and conduct of their children, within the home the major burden falls upon the mother. It is the mother who feeds, bathes, and clothes the children and cares for them 593 855

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593 [859] when they are ill. It is she who is expected to train them in good habits and behavior and to see after their religious training. The father rules the children through the mother and holds her responsible for their behavior. As far as the children are concerned, family life revolves about the mother, and their contacts are primarily with her. It is to her that they turn for help, permission, information, protection, or affection. In matters involving small sums of money, children always go to the mother because the father does not hold or control family funds. Children beg the father for pennies when he is drunk; then he may have change in his pockets.

Children are supposed to make important requests directly to the father. However, the mother is often the mediator for the children, and most requests are made through her. If a son wishes to continue school or a daughter wants to go to a dance, they will almost always first discuss the matter with the mother; and if she sees fit, she will ask the father. Older children occasionally speak directly to the father, particularly if the mother refuses to do so. Many fathers also use the mother as the go-between in dealings with the children. If a father thinks his son is staying out too late or that his daughter is too free in her manner, he will often tell the mother to see that the children improve their behavior, rather than speak directly to them himself. In the same manner, if a child does not improve or if he commits an offense, it is sometimes the mother who receives the scolding or beating and not the child.

The father depends on the mother to maintain his position of respect in the home. It is one of her more important obligations to teach the children to fear the father's anger, to avoid offending him, and to demonstrate continually by her own behavior her respect for him. Children are also repeatedly warned by the grandmother, aunt, godmother, and other adults that the father must be respected. Respect for the father is also sought by emphasizing to the children the importance of family unity, and the dire fate of orphans. There is a good deal of talk about the family as a unit; and the individual who lives in a peaceful, hard working, united family group is considered fortunate.

Although mothers generally comply in building up the father as a feared and respected figure, they make little effort to place him on a pedestal, or to portray him to the children as an awe-inspiring personage. It is common for mothers to complain to their children about the husband and to point out his faults. When a man dies, 593 769 there is little or no effort on the part of his wife to create an honored memory of him among the children. At best, a mother might tell her small children that their father had "no vices and was hard working," and that they had no cause to be ashamed of him. If a man had weaknesses, however, the mother generally does not overlook them, even after his death. Many of our case histories reveal the part the mother played in developing an uninspiring father-image. The following, for example, is not unusual:

"My mother told me that my father was a drunkard and a vagabond, a gambler interested in cockfights."

A youth of nineteen said, "My mother warns me not to do as my father did [see other women] or I will come to the same bad end."

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ing more from her, they show hostility when she fails them; receiving more from her, they feel dependent upon her. In general, the children are more emotionally involved with the mother than with the father. The word "mother" flung in anger during a quarrel is a strong insult and usually results in fighting and violence. 593

The father maintains his position of respect by being withdrawn from the children. Traditionally the Tepoztecan father does not carry infants except in emergencies, nor does he play with them. Children are sharply reprimanded for climbing on their father's lap or for grabbing his leg. Infants soon learn not to reach out to their fathers or expect much attention from them. [854]

When four- or five-year-olds run to meet their father on his return from the fields, they are not permitted to jump on him but are taught to walk demurely at his side. As the child, particularly the son, gets older, the father becomes more receptive, but he does not permit physical contact, nor does he spend more time at home with the boy. The traditional way for a father to express his affection is to buy the child little gifts, give him pennies, or take him to the fields or to a fiesta. If the father is very pleased at the birth of a child, he will generally express his pleasure by purchasing as many protective amulets as he can afford. [751]

The mother has more ways of demonstrating her affection for a child than has the father. She may kiss, fondle, or carry a nursing child as much as she wishes and may continue to do so until he is five. Generally, the mother avoids demonstrative affection for children after weaning. Because of the mother's position as server, dispenser of food, nurse, etc., she can express her affection by means of all of these. Giving more attention and pennies for sweets, serving larger portions of food, sewing more clothing, worrying over illness or accident, devoting more time to curing, and buying needed school supplies are all common means by which mothers express their affection for a child. Mothers also show their affection by not informing the father of the child's misdeeds or by intervening when the father is punishing the child. Such intervention and deception, although infuriating to the father, is viewed as "natural" in a mother. [152] [854] [855]

A child is always punished for flouting the authority of his parents and for unwillingness to work. Behavior which does not involve these has a good chance of being indulged, particularly if backed up by a show of temper, tears, whining, begging, or demanding. If a child wants something badly enough he generally gets it. Even in families in which children are beaten with severity and worked hard, they may get whatever it is they want merely because they "want it." 593 861 [865] [855]

Parents, despite their authoritativeness, can be intimidated by a strong-willed child. Although children in Tepoztlán show obedience early, they are not completely submissive. The ways in which they can express their own tastes and desires with impunity or reward has made for a certain development of the ego. Children sometimes display a self-centered, demanding attitude in connection with food, clothing, money to spend, going to school or fiestas, and, more recently, toys for play. The variety we find in both punishment and indulgence stems from differences in interpretation as to when parental authority is or is not involved. For some,

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The *sacamisa* is supposed to occur forty days after the baptism. It frequently takes place a week or two later because the godparents may not keep track of the time, or one of the families involved may lack the necessary funds for the ceremony. When the godparents are ready, they appear at the house of their godchild with a tray containing the baptismal clothes, a white silk gown, a set of underclothes, a long robe, a hat, a pair of socks, and perhaps a pair of shoes. Sometimes these clothes are not presented until the child is in church, where he is then dressed.

The next day at 5:00 A.M., the parents, parents-in-law, and godparents meet at the church. The child is carried by the father or grandmother since the mother is considered too weak. The priest prays over the mother and child and throws holy water on them. During the Mass the mother is seated and holds the child in one arm and a candle in her other hand. When the party leaves the church, each goes home without taking any more formal leave of one another than saying "hasta luego." At noon the godparents are visited by their *compadres* and some relatives of the latter, who bring a gift of *mole* with turkey, rice, macaroni, beans, a bottle of wine, and a package of cigarettes. They leave the gift and return home. Later in the afternoon, if the godparents wish, they may bring musicians and friends to their *compadres'* house for a celebration. The *compadres* are obliged to serve food and drinks to all who come, and the dancing which follows may continue until about 8:00 P.M. This celebration involves considerable expense, and most families are able to fulfill only a minimum of the obligations.

It is said that a boy who is not taken to *sacamisa* will be refused when he asks for the hand of a girl in marriage, and that a girl who is not taken to *sacamisa* will elope. Some of the younger women who leave their homes before the forty-day period of rest forfeit the right to *sacamisa*. In one case, an educated woman who no longer observed the forty-day period received a tray of clothing from her child's godmother at the time of *sacamisa* and was forced to refuse the gift. She returned it with a suitable gift of her own to placate the godmother. The baby's mother, in telling the story, added that the godmother knew very well that there would be no *sacamisa* and sent the clothing just to cause embarrassment.

Each child in Tepoztlán has godparents of baptism to insure a guardian for him in case of the death of either of the parents. It is the obligation of the godparents to inquire periodically about the welfare of their godchild and to see that the child is sent to school. Very few godparents in Tepoztlán take a more active interest in their godchildren. The godparents may not refuse to take in their orphaned godchildren, but many take them only temporarily until other arrangements can be made for them. Most orphaned children are cared for by relatives rather than godparents. There are stories of godparents abusing and exploiting their godchildren, as well as stories of kind and affectionate treatment.

The naming of children follows the Catholic custom of selecting a name from the list of saints' names on the day of birth. A *sobrenombre*, or an additional name, is selected either from the saints' list on the day of baptism or at will, depending upon the desire of the father or the godparents. The *sobrenombre* is the name by

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753 862 [843] [755] body, diarrhea, loss of appetite and weight, pallor, and weakness. In fact, almost any symptom or illness during this time is called *chipilez*. It is said that husbands become sleepy and do not want to work. A husband can be cured by wearing a strip of his wife's skirt around his neck.

In the case of children, there is no known cure, and mothers try to comfort the child with more attention. Grandmothers often advise against too much kissing and embracing of the child when he is *chipil* because it "makes the burden heavier." Indeed, the greater attention required by the sick child makes more difficult his later adjustment to the withdrawal of the mother at the birth of the next baby. It [843] is said by some that if a child is very *chipil*, the next baby will be of the opposite sex, and if the child is not very ill, the next baby will be of the same sex.

[165] Sometimes a *chipil* child dies before the birth of the next child, and several families attribute as many as four or five deaths of children to *chipilez*. From the symptoms and number of deaths, and from the obvious relation to weaning, it is highly probable that many cases of *chipilez* are due to nutritional deficiencies or intestinal parasites. Most children and all husbands recover at the birth of the new baby, for, it is said, "Tlayish qua mak awa," (the weight is lifted).

EARLY CHILDHOOD

855 The transition from infancy to childhood is characterized by the breaking of the close ties between the mother and the youngest child. This process begins at weaning and generally culminates with the birth of the next sibling. As we have seen, in this interval of from two to four months, most children become *chipil*, losing their symptoms after the birth of the baby. Other children continue to be ill, sometimes for several months or even years. This illness reflects the widespread 593 sibling rivalry which exists among children.

855 Children in Tepoztlán are not prepared for the arrival of a new sibling. When delivery is expected, the children of the house are sent to sleep with the grandmother or a relative or neighbor. When they return home the next morning they [864] are told their parents have bought a new baby, and they are shown their new brother or sister. The initial reaction of the children may be one of pleasure, curiosity, or apprehension, the latter particularly on the part of the younger children. Older girls often express displeasure, and some even scold their mothers for buying a new child because the burden of raising it usually falls upon them. A girl of thirteen said to her mother after the birth of another child, "You cannot even buy us good food or shoes. Why did you buy another child?"

855 865 Jealousy and hostility on the part of the other children, particularly the younger ones, are so common as to be considered inevitable and normal. Children often call the baby names and, if not watched, may slap, pinch, or throw him on the ground. Small children, too, scold their mother for buying the infant and beg her to return him. A mother said that her four-year-old son used to stand at the gate and call to passers-by to take away his little sister. Jealous children are often regarded with amusement by adults, but striking the infant or mother in jealousy is quickly

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punished. Some parents try to assuage the children's resentment by placing fruit and candy under the infant's dress and saying that the baby brought gifts to his brothers and sisters. Affection shown by the grandmother, the father, and older brothers and sisters also serves to comfort younger children. Demonstrative affection from the mother is almost entirely absent after the new baby is born. In general, it is rare for a child over five to be held, hugged, or kissed, and by the time the child reaches ten this never occurs.

Temper tantrums, which rarely occur in the nursing child or even during weaning, are frequent in the next-to-the-youngest child, after the birth of a new sibling. These tantrums are distinctly associated with the coming of the other child and are attributed to jealousy. The child becomes irritable and hypersensitive, and any rebuff or show of indifference on the part of his elders is enough to cause a temper tantrum. The child throws himself to the ground in a rage, screaming and kicking and pulling his hair. Some children bang their heads on the ground, tear at their clothing, and hit or scratch themselves. Frequently children urinate *por muina,* or out of anger, during a temper tantrum. They also throw themselves on the offender and beat him.

The child usually gets what he wants, in order to quiet him, but if the father is at home he may receive a spanking. If the child has the tantrum because of an older brother or sister, he usually gets what he wants. As the baby of the family, the child has learned to get what he wants by crying; when he becomes next youngest to the baby he gets what he wants by temper tantrums. Children may have temper tantrums up to the time they go to school. If a child is *muy encaprichudo,* or very willful, demanding, or stubborn, his temper tantrums may not be tolerated, and he may be subject to beatings and punishments during this period.

The importance of the grandmother to the child who is displaced by a new sibling cannot be overemphasized. Sending the disturbed or unhappy child to live with the grandmother is a traditional, almost institutionalized, way of handling the problem. The grandmother represents an adequate mother-substitute and softens the abruptness of the child's separation from his mother. The stereotype of the grandmother who is constant, loving, patient, and solicitous toward her grandchildren, while not true of every grandmother, is true of many. The child who has a grandmother is considered fortunate. The child who is difficult to wean, who is *chipil,* or who has many temper tantrums, is sent to the grandmother to receive the attention and care he craves. First-born sons and favorite children, whom the parents are reluctant to punish, are most often the ones to go. Children may stay with the grandmother for a month or a year or, not infrequently, until they marry.

After the birth of a new sibling, the next youngest child no longer sleeps with the mother. Occasionally the youngest child sleeps with the mother for five or more years because there is no one to displace him. In one case, the youngest son, who was also his mother's favorite, slept with her until he was ten. In another family a girl of five who had slept with her father since she was weaned was so attached to him that she would sleep with no one else. Occasionally, too, we found a grown

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513 855 [836] boy still sleeping with his grandmother or older sister, to whom he had been transferred at the birth of another child. In the only case we have of sexual intercourse between children, a girl of eight and a boy of six, the boy said he had learned it from his older sister with whom he shared a *petate* at night.

863 Enuresis is very common up to the age of five and is not infrequent in boys and girls of seven. It is not considered very much of a problem, but children are sometimes scolded and shamed for doing it. Some parents attempt to curb enuresis by insisting that the children urinate before going to sleep. Children are urged to go to the patio during the night, but parents do not get up to remind them or take them. Although urine tends to pulverize the straw of the *petate*, so that eventually it must be replaced, parents do not express annoyance or concern over this. The [513] [855] *petates* are washed in the morning or merely set in the sun to dry. Children up to the age of seven seldom sleep on a mattress, because of enuresis.

The transition from infancy to childhood is also characterized by less care concerning cleanliness. In general, the cleanest children in Tepoztlán are infants and school children. Children between the ages of two and six are often dirty and unkempt. In more acculturated families there is greater emphasis on cleanliness. Most children are bathed and have their clothing changed once a week, usually on Sunday. In a few families children may be bathed and changed every three or five days. These families also exhort their children to wash their face and hands before eating, but most children receive no training in this until they go to school. Poorer families, [735] which are in the majority, do not wash and change clothes often, as a matter of [296] economy; soap is expensive, and clothing, which is scrubbed on stones, tends to wear out more quickly with frequent washings. In the past, because of greater poverty, people washed and changed clothes once in fifteen days.

Children are bathed in warm water by the mother or older sister, up to the age of seven or eight. They stand for the bath, and their bodies and hair are scrubbed with soap and a pad of rough *ixtle*. The water is poured over their heads, and the soap gets in their eyes. Children do not appear to enjoy the bath as infants do and show much fear of the water. In families in which the children early acquire 864 a sense of shame (usually the more acculturated families), boys of five may refuse to be bathed by their mothers and will accompany their elder brothers to the ravine. Girls exhibit shame earlier than boys, concerning nudity. I saw a ten-year-old boy, stark naked in the patio, being bathed by his grandmother. He seemed a little concerned about hiding his genitals but otherwise showed no embarrassment. This situation, which is unusual in the village, was explained by the fact that the boy was an only child and the favorite of his grandmother, who had bathed him from infancy.

Except during the bath, children are never seen without clothes. Boys who are not yet toilet trained sometimes go without pants, but this is very rare over age five. [291] On the whole, nakedness or incomplete dress is associated with poverty, neglect, [735] and immorality. One of the major reasons given for keeping children fully clothed [839] is to prevent masturbation.

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paper with some regularity and none of them were peasants. Magazine reading has increased, however. In 1956, about fifty villagers had magazine subscriptions. About half of these were for *Selecciones*, the Spanish version of the *Readers Digest;* others were for such publications as *Life, La Granja, La Tierra, La Sevilla.* Over a third of the subscriptions were held by teachers and most of the others by persons in nonagricultural occupations. The majority of the subscribers were under fifty, and reading was predominantly done by the men. Except for school teachers and some officials, few people owned books, but many children read comics.

Related to the developments noted above are changes in every stage of the life cycle, particularly the rearing of children. Again, most of the changes are found in the middle economic group, and the following discussion of the direction of change applies mainly to this group. Changes are occurring among the tradition-oriented members of the lower groups also, but at a much slower rate.

Women still prefer to give birth on a *petate* with the help of a midwife, but a doctor is often called in for difficult cases. Many young women are rejecting some of the "Indian" customs and cures of the midwives—the food taboos, for example, the use of smoke to help labor, and the wearing of the *huipil.* Magical practices like burying the first milk or throwing it over the roof are being discarded. Because more babies are being bottle-fed, the druggist now keeps a supply of baby bottles and nipples, as well as of formula mixtures. Young women feel less need to follow such customs as sweatbaths or the forty-day postpartum seclusion before the *sacamisa.*

A definite trend toward greater child-orientedness on the part of both parents is evident. Parents tend to be more permissive and more demonstratively affectionate with their young children. More fathers can be seen on the street carrying small children and a few help a little with the children at home. The swaddling of infants has been completely abandoned as "cruel" by some mothers. Parents indulge their children more, especially the first-born, and openly show their pride in their infants by buying them toys, shoes, and attractive clothing. This is in sharp contrast with the older attitude of guarding children from the attention of others through fear of the "evil eye." Younger and more educated parents punish more lightly, permit more play, and send their children to school for as long as possible. The period of adolescence is becoming longer and more clearcut, and the time when youths are expected to contribute to the support of the family is often delayed by years of study.

Arranged marriages have completely disappeared and more couples are marrying for love. Church weddings have become more elaborate and expensive and are patterned after those of the urban middle class. Newlyweds try to set up independent households immediately after marriage or as soon as it is economically feasible to avoid the problems of living with mothers-in-law. Some young wives work as school teachers or shopkeepers, but this is still unusual. More couples are resorting to legal divorce rather than mere separation or abandonment.

A noticeable change has occurred also among the educated middle group